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MAO TSE-TUNG'S RECEPTION

OF THE JAPANESE, BRAZILIAN, CUBAN, AND ARGENTINE DELEGATIONS IN WUJIAN,
CHINA

14 MAY 1960

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MAO TSE-TUNG'S RECEPTION
OF THE JAPANESE, BRAZILIAN, CUBAN, AND ARGENTINE DELEGATIONS IN WUHAN,
CHINA
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[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Japanese-language periodical, Chuso Jisei (Sino-Soviet Affairs), No. 861, Tokyo, Japan, 23 May, 1960, Pages 1-15]

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party gave an interview for an hour on the afternoon of May 14th at Wuhan to delegations that were visiting China; namely, the delegation to visit China of the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Society and the similar delegation of the Japanese (Sohyo) Labor Federation, a Japan medical delegation the labor movement member Mitsu Takano from Japan, and a Cuban students' delegation, a delegation connected with Brazilian broadcasting and T.V., and an Argentine cultural delegation. President Ito and Director Sato of the Japan Press editorial department, who were visiting China, were also present at this interview.

Based on a memorandum made the same day, we give below the detailed text of the interview. The draft is in the Japan Press editorial department. For copying passages please contact that department.

MAO TSE-TUNG: I welcome you all on behalf of the people of China. Now what are your views? How long is it since you left Japan?

ANSWER: It's three weeks.

MAO TSE-TUNG: What places have you been to?

ANSWER: Kiangchow, Peiping, Shenyang, Anshan, Tientsin, Wuhan.

MAO TSE-TUNG: How the Japanese people are opening a large-scale war, and opposing the Japanese-American treaty of alliance.

The new Japanese-American "security treaty" is for the purpose of oppressing the masses of the people of Japan, and it is an aggressive military alliance treaty aimed at China and Russia, and aimed at the peace of Asia and of the world, but will also surely bring terrible tribulations on the Japanese people. The people of Japan and of China, and the people of Asia, as well as the people who wish for peace for the whole world, must all oppose the Japanese-American military alliance treaty.

ANSWER: How is one to crush imperialism and Kishi's military alliance? How is one to stop the revival of national militarism? How should one drive America out of Asia and Japan? These are the most important questions for us.

MAO TSE-TUNG: To have raised the question in the form of how one

should drive American imperialism out of Asia is absolutely the right approach. The peoples of Asia are demanding that America leave their countries. Also, the peoples of Latin America are demanding that America leave their countries. If they do not leave, what is to be done? They must be made to leave. For this one must rely on the power of the peoples of all countries, of the people of America, of the people of the whole world. There is no reason why we should not combine and demand that America leave our countries. We have been holding talks with America for the last two or three years. First of all at Geneva and then at Warsaw and what we are demanding is quite simple. Namely, that America leave Taiwan.

But, whether it is with big countries or with small, talks alone are not enough. After all, one must walk with both legs. The principal leg is the battle of the peoples of all countries against American imperialism. Exchanges of talk are also one leg, but they are not an important one. Just as you all walk with both legs, one must walk with two legs in this case also. Everybody in this world has two legs and two hands. Imperialism also has two hands. They are deceiving people with the one hand, disguising themselves pleasingly and showing others how much they love peace. But their principal hand is not preparing peace but war. Their principal hand, and leg, has the posture of war, the posture of power. A.. imperialisms are like this. But the biggest imperialist is American imperialism. At present you numerous friends from Japan are aware that American imperialism is the common enemy of China and Japan: I am very glad this is so. American imperialism is the common enemy of the peoples of both China and Japan, the common enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the common enemy of peoples throughout the world that love peace.

All of you from Latin America, do you not perhaps also have questions similar to those raised by these people here from Japan?

ANSWER: Yes.

MAO TSE-TUNG: One of America's ways is to deceive Latin America and control it and on no account to leave it. I recently met with friends from Latin America, Asia, and Africa; and their opinions coincide with ours.

How one is to overthrow those people depends on the actual situation in each country. The sympathizers in Cuba had ways and means, and with two and a half years of guerilla fighting they finally overthrew the Batista regime that was an American agent. We won our continent overthrew ten years ago the agent Chiang Kai-shek, and America immediately had to leave. Well now in Africa at present they are driving out imperialism by means of arms. But in some countries it will be difficult to adopt this means. Your Japan is like that. You people yourselves have not raised any question of driving America out of Japan by war. Nor are we raising that question.

We are opposed to international war. And we agree with the resistance that the colonies and semi-colonies are waging against its agents. In South Korea mass meetings and demonstrations were the means of over-

throwing the Syngman Rhee regime.

It looks as if the situation of imperialism is not too good a one. They do control a large area, but the people of the area have anti-American feelings. Syngman Rhee, Menderes, and such agents whom America is supporting are not liked by the people of those places.

Many people are still very much afraid of imperialism. There are even people who are scared when they just hear the word. But the people in Cuba are not afraid of it. Although it is so close that it only takes an American plane only half an hour to fly there, they overthrew America's agent. The Americans were startled and showed surprise, but they are contenting themselves with looking on. Nor are we afraid of imperialism. We drove out the imperialist agents earlier. To fear imperialism is not a good way to do things. If one fears imperialism, the more one fears it the more harm they do one. Imperialism is not afraid of those who are afraid of it. What imperialism does fear is those who do not fear it. As I see it, there is great hope for the people of Japan.

QUESTION: How about the possibility of American attacks on Cuba?

MAO TSE-TUNG: There are two possibilities. One is the possibility that America may not attack. Another possibility is that she may attack. In the case of China it is the same. As regards the whole socialist camp it is the same. But one must not keep one's eye only on the non-attack possibility. There is the other possibility, namely that she may attack. They are planning to destroy the socialist camp; they will never discard that plan. They will never renounce the idea of destroying the socialist camp, of destroying Cuba. Therefore one must push forward one's affairs, taking into reckoning that they do attack and preparing for it. One must not disarm psychologically. That is why in addition one must train great numbers of people's troops. This is being done in Cuba and we are also doing it. This is one certain way. We are always keeping up our feeling of combativeness; if they attack us, we shall repulse them.

Imperialism is always imperialism. One must have no illusions. Imperialism is always imperialism: it is not the working classes. All they do is to squeeze people and oppress them. To fear imperialism is sheer loss, it brings no results. The determination and awareness of the people rises a step at a time, so it does not rise in a day. The awareness of the Chinese people was rising over a long period, as a result of many facts, gradually. The awareness of the Japanese people also, within the fight against the Japanese-American military alliance treaty, is increasing daily and the number of them who have had an awakening is great. But you must all nevertheless continue to carry on the work. Imperialism and its agents are deceiving the people daily, so that we also must intensify every day the awareness of the people and continue exposing the wickedness of imperialism. Imperialism is very fearful of an awakening to realisation among the people of Latin America. It also has great fear of awakening among the Western peoples. In short what imperialism fears most is awakening of the peoples of the

whole world.

Maybe you will not agree with what I am saying, but I am giving you my point of view.

ANSWER: One would say that everyone does agree with Chairman Mao's views.

MAO TSE-TUNG: Then my views are those of all of you. Putting it another way, I am in agreement with the views of all of you. We are all being harmed by imperialism. Taiwan has not been liberated yet. They say that we are extremely wicked and that Chiang Kai-shek is very good. Why should Japan and America be concluding a military alliance? The point of this spear will be pointed towards both China and Soviet Russia, and is at the same time intended for the oppression of the Japanese people. All your battles are to the advantage of the whole world's peoples, but they are in the first place for your own advantage. Cuba's battle helps the battles of China and Japan. They are watching the development of all your battles and supporting all of you. We are feeling mutual sympathy and are supporting each other mutually. I believe the Japanese friends are also supporting the Cuban revolution. And indeed the peoples of Latin America who are opposing in Cuba and in other cases the imperialism of America are supporting the battle of Japan.

QUESTION: One would like to hear Chairman Mao's opinion concerning the liberation of Brazil.

MAO TSE-TUNG: I have not investigated the exact facts. We think that imperialism can be driven out only by going through every sort of battle. Among these sorts are peaceful battles and battles that are not peaceful, bloody battles and bloodless battles.

Furthermore, in the fighting phase, one is likely to make mistakes. But mistakes are not completely bad things. China made any number of mistakes, but she gained experience and instruction from them and finally obtained victory. In Cuba it took two and a half years to obtain victory and in our case it took twenty-two years. I can speak only of general principles. The actual ways and means are for decision by the peoples of each country themselves. Because, that is, there are differing historical conditions in each country.

QUESTION: The peoples of Latin America are supporting Cuba. The attitude of the people and that of those in control are different; the people are all supporting Cuba.

MAO TSE-TUNG: Is the Argentine Government not cooperating now with the people?

ANSWER: It is not.

MAO TSE-TUNG: In other countries also, the gap between the government and the people is great, and many of the men in the government have connections with America. The government of Japan as well is cooperating closely with America.

QUESTION: What is the role for the people's bourgeoisie in the liberation of Latin America? One would like to hear Chairman Mao's views on this.

MAO TSE-TUNG: One must make the division into two, the corrupt bourgeoisie, and the people's bourgeoisie. The latter does have a little patriotic feeling. In China also it is divided into two. The corrupt bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek is the enemy of the people. We have no connections with imperialism, but we have adopted a policy of combining with the people's bourgeoisie which does have a few connections. It is the same thing with the bourgeoisie-intelligentsia. A part of the intelligentsia is reactionary. Such for instance are the ones in Cuba who had connections with Batista. That cannot be helped. The Chinese, HuShih, is the same. You people from Japan will know about this man HuShih. The people from Latin America may not, I think. They are the intelligentsia of the corrupt bourgeoisie and they are reactionary and we are letting them have work. Many of them are active as teachers, journalists, technicians and the like.

QUESTION: What do you think about the Soviet Union having shot down about a week ago an American U-2 that had violated their frontier and spied there?

MAO TSE-TUNG: What the Soviet Union people did was absolutely right. China also would do the same as the Soviet Union. Shoot it down. There is no other way. It is especially wonderful, without killing the man in it and without having damaged the machine, to have been able to bring it down. The various proofs are an advantage to the Soviet Union.

This incident has once more shown clearly in its true aspects the preparations for aggressive war that American imperialism is making on the basis of its disguise under a false peace. We must not get illusions about imperialism that are not in accord with reality; this truth has once more been proved to the whole world. Until now there have been those who said that Eisenhower is a man who greatly loves peace; I hope they will open their eyes to these facts.

Is Eisenhower not about to visit your countries soon?

Even people who have great wealth, if they have patriotic feelings, must combine. Then a broad united front can be built up. I think you Japanese have all done that. I think there is in Japan, in addition to monopoly capital and great corrupt capital, capital that does not want to cooperate with America. Is there such capital?

ANSWER: There is.

MAO TSE-TUNG: Is there such capital also among medium and small enterprises, and among the learned elements?

ANSWER: There is.

MAO TSE-TUNG: All the various people who can combine must be taken into the combination and one must build up a broad united front. Each individual country builds a united front and at the same time builds an international united front. There are no relations of hostility between any of you people gathered here. And you Japanese will not be all of the same party. This gathering is a united front.

Patriotic gentlemen who hold Liberal-Democratic party views are also expressing sentiments of dissatisfaction with the reactionary policy

of Nobusuke Kishi.

' As you know, after we had built a broad united front we were able to win. The first friend of the worker is the farmer. The second friend is the people's bourgeoisie.

There are now eight parties in our country. They represent among them people who have come from the people's bourgeoisie, from the landlords, from the nationalist party. We fought with some of them in the past. Fu Tso-yi, the present head of the irrigation ministry did fight against us, but at last he has cooperated with us. There are not a few others who did fight against us. Their views have changed. We have also released war criminals. The emperor, Pu Yi, is one of them. Did you meet him?

ANSWER: No, we did not.

MAO TSE-TUNG: He has progressed considerably. He recognizes his previous mistakes. Men do change under certain conditions. But a few cannot ever reform. They go to heaven still the victims of their own illusions. They go to heaven still keeping their reactionary aspect. Whether Nobusuke Kishi will change or not, I do not know. Let us just see.

QUESTION: What work has to be done for the development of the Chinese economy and production?

MAO TSE-TUNG: There are the main lines for the construction of socialism. We are constructing socialism along these lines. And we are developing our economy. This is the great advance. Mass meetings have begun to form people's state corporations. This is not something that we thought out, but the people of Honan province. That is where they first began to coin the slogan of people's state corporations. Then after that we pushed it throughout the whole country. Since this form has been evolved work has become easier to do in various ways. Though it did not go so smoothly at first, and inside the country the right-wing elements opposed it. Inside the party, the right-wing advocates of peace with Japan opposed it. In foreign countries, Dulles at first opposed it. Well, he has now gone to his God.

On this point many people among the Japanese have stood by us, and the same is the case with the Latin Americans. We are building socialism in this sort of way. Building is not so easy. Ten years have already been spent and the population is fairly poor. After all, it takes time to become rich; one needs the help of friends.

We do not want to start war. If war breaks out, then because one has to concentrate on it, building becomes impossible. So I am in agreement with summit talks. I am anyhow in agreement with this sort of talks regardless of whether or not they have results or whether the results are large or small. Even if there are no immediate results now, results may appear later. That is also certainly one leg to walk on.

If there are no results, what is to happen about disarmament? The West's plans will then be exposed before the whole world. Securing peace depends in the main on the determined battle of the peoples of all

countries. Agreements made at international conferences sometimes become useless afterwards. The Potsdam agreement is an example of that.

How much longer are you going to stay in China?

ANSWER: Ten days more (Japanese-Chinese Friendship Delegation).

Ten days more (Sohyo Delegation).

One month more. (Doctors' Delegation).

MAO TSE-TUNG: Please stay as long as you like. You will always be welcome.

QUESTION: I don't know whether Chairman Mao knows it, but there is an example of China, as well, committing "aggression" against Latin America? In Cuba at present Chairman Mao's poetry is making great inroads among the youth and is very popular.

MAO TSE-TUNG: I didn't know that. Long ago I intended to be a primary school teacher. I thought, you see, that my abilities were just right for it. But then somehow or other I stopped teaching and took part in the revolution, went off to the hills and fought, and twenty-two years went by. War is also a form of politics. But now I am engaged in building socialism. This is something for which I was not preparing myself at all in my youth.

QUESTION: What sort of poems are the ones being sung in Latin America?

MAO TSE-TUNG: They would be ones written about the scenery during the long march. I have hardly written any poems in a long while so I am an unproductive poet. I do not write much now.

We have talked so far mainly about opposing imperialism. The theme of all of you has also been the overthrowing of imperialism. Then there is also the question of socialism. Ten years of building socialism. I have not written much poetry during that time. Being busy every day, I abandoned poetry.

QUESTION: But isn't it so, that by directing the building of socialism, you have in fact, Chairman Mao, written a wonderful poem?

MAO TSE-TUNG: History is something that the people make; the people have written many poems. We are no more than representatives of the people.